

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01
SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 AF-10
ACDA-12 TRSE-00 OMB-01 EB-08 /115 W
-----076912 181906Z /45

O R 181650Z JUL 78

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7266

INFO USINT HAVANA

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 5276

BUCHAREST PLEASE PASS TO AMBASSADOR YOUNG

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, YO, PFOR

SUBJ: YUGOSLAV FOREIGN SECRETARY VRHOVEC'S VIEWS ON NAM
AND CUBAN ROLE

REF: (A) STATE 179595 (NOTAL), (B) STATE 178240

1. DURING DISCUSSIONS JULY 17 BETWEEN AMBASSADOR YOUNG, AMBASSADOR EAGLEBURGER, AND YUGOSLAV FOREIGN SECRETARY VRHOVEC, CUBA'S ROLE IN THE NAM WAS RAISED AND DISCUSSED IN AN UNUSUALLY CANDID MANNER BY VRHOVEC BOTH DURING FORMAL SESSION AND DURING DINNER THAT EVENING. FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF THAT PORTION OF THE VRHOVEC/YOUNG DISCUSSIONS DEALING WITH CUBA. THIS MESSAGE HAS BEEN DISCUSSED WITH AMBASSADOR YOUNG BUT HE HAS NOT SEEN IT.

2. THE FIRST HALF OF AMB YOUNG'S EXCHANGE WITH SECTY VRHOVEC
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AT THEIR MEETING IN VRHOVEC'S OFFICE DEALT WITH MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICAN MATTERS (REPORTED SEPARATELY). VRHOVEC THEN INITIATED A DISCUSSION OF YUGOSLAVIA'S CONCEPTION OF THE NAM ON THE EVE OF THE BELGRADE FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING, FOCUSSED ON THE ROLE OF CUBA. WHILE THERE IS MUCH SPECULATION ABOUT CONFLICTS WITHIN THE NAM OVER THE FUTURE DIRECTION OF THE MOVEMENT, VRHOVEC SAID, YUGOSLAVIA REMAINS CONFIDENT THAT THE

COMING BELGRADE NAM GATHERING WILL STRONGLY REAFFIRM THE "TRUE PRINCIPLES" ON WHICH THE NAM IS FOUNDED: GENUINE NON-ALIGNMENT, NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES, AND PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF DISPUTES. VRHOVEC AFFIRMED THIS WILL PROVIDE "THE ANSWER TO ATTEMPTS TO DIVIDE THE MOVEMENT."

3. YUGOSLAVIA BELIEVES IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO CONTAIN PRESSURES FROM "WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE MOVEMENT SEEKING TO ALIGN IT WITH THE "EASTERN BLOC". HOWEVER, EFFORTS FROM THE "RIGHT WING" IN THE NAM, WHICH HAS BEEN SO EAGER TO PUT CUBA "IN THE DOCK", HAVE IN FACT STRENGTHENED CUBAN POSITION. FEW WILL SUPPORT PUBLIC CONDEMNATION OF CUBA, MUCH LESS THROWING CUBA OUT OF THE MOVEMENT, VRHOVEC SAID. WE CAN BLOCK CUBAN EFFORTS TO TIE THE MOVEMENT TO THE EASTERN BLOC, VRHOVEC ADDED, BUT CAN DO SO ONLY BY RALLYING SUPPORT FOR MODERATE POSITIONS AND NOT BY RAISING THE QUESTION OF HAVANA AS THE VENUE FOR NEXT YEAR'S NAM SUMMIT, MUCH LESS OF THE EXPULSION OF CUBA.

4. THIS YUGOSLAV ASSESSMENT, VRHOVEC CONTINUED, HAS BEEN REACHED AFTER A CAREFUL AND REALISTIC POLICY REVIEW OF THE SITUATION WITHIN THE NAM. YUGOSLAVIA BELIEVES CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE EXTREMES OF THE RIGHT AND THE LEFT AT THE COMING BELGRADE MEETING MUST BE AVOIDED, FOR THAT COULD RESULT IN "WHAT WE WISH THE LEAST", E.G. MORE SUPPORT FOR CUBA. IN A CONFRONTATION SITUATION, YUGOSLAVIA BELIEVES, CUBA WILL GAIN CONFIDENTIAL

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SUPPORT, EVEN FROM MODERATE STATES. VRHOVEC SAID YUGOSLAVIA IS WATCHING THE KHARTOUM OAU MEETING CAREFULLY FOR INDICATIONS WHETHER THE AFRICAN STATES WILL BE PREPARED TO TAKE MODERATE POSITIONS IN BELGRADE. HE THOUGHT CHANCES OF THIS ARE GOOD. HOWEVER, YUGOSLAVIA IS WELL AWARE THAT CUBA WILL CONTINUE "TO TRY AND LINK US TO THE UNITED STATES OR TO THE CHINESE", THEREBY JUSTIFYING THEIR OWN EXTREME POSITIONS AND EVEN THEIR OWN TIES TO THE USSR.

5. RE THE NAM COORDINATING BUREAU, VRHOVEC SAID THERE ARE SOME WITHIN THE NAM (OBVIOUSLY INCLUDING THE GOY), WHO FEAR THAT CUBA WILL MISUSE ITS POSITION AS CHAIRMAN IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE BELGRADE AND HAVANA NAM MEETINGS. THERE MIGHT EVEN BE EFFORTS TO ABOLISH THE COORDINATING BUREAU, OR TO LIMIT ITS ROLE SEVERELY. ON THE OTHER HAND, CUBA AND ITS SUPPORTERS MAY TRY TO STRENGTHEN THE COORDINATING BUREAU, TO GIVE IT "SOME KIND OF LEADING OR DIRECTING ROLE." YUGOSLAVIA OPPOSES BOTH COURSES. VRHOVEC SAID THAT YUGOSLAVIA BELIEVES THAT THE COORDINATING BUREAU SHOULD FUNCTION "MORE DEMOCRATICALLY". YUGOSLAVIA IS CONSIDERING PROPOSING A ROTATING CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE COORDINATING BUREAU, BUT INDICATED THAT YUGOSLAV TACTICS IN THIS MATTER ARE STILL BEING DEVELOPED. HOWEVER, VRHOVEC SAID, YUGOSLAVIA

WILL INSIST THAT THE CHARIMAN -- THAT IS, CUBA -- CONFINE ITSELF TO ITS ROLE AS HOST OF THE NEXT HAVANA MEETING AND NOTHING MORE. YUGOSLAVIA WILL ALSO INSIST THAT THERE BE NO LIMITATION ON THE FREEDOM OF ANY NAM MEMBER TO MAKE PROPOSALS EITHER WITHIN THE COORDINATING BUREAU OR OUTSIDE IT.

6. AMBASSADOR YOUNG SAID THE U.S. APPLAUDS EFFORTS OF YUGOSLAVIA TO KEEP THE NAM IN A MODERATE COURSE. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE UNITED STATES ACCEPTS AND INDEED WELCOMES THE NAM'S ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS WHENEVER THE NAM TAKES "REASONABLE" POSITIONS, AND HE ACKNOWLEDGED YUGOSLAVIA'S LEADING AND MODERATING ROLE. AMB YOUNG ALSO HOPED THAT THE NAM COULD PLAY A GREATER ROLE IN BRINGING UN INFLUENCE TO BEAR MORE QUICKLY IN CRISIS SITUATIONS.
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 5276

BUCHAREST PLEASE PASS TO AMBASSADOR YOUNG

7. AMB YOUNG ALSO POINTED OUT THAT THE NAM IN ITS DELIBERATIONS COULD HELPFULLY EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR DEVELOPMENT INSTEAD OF

MILITARY ASSISTANCE. THE UNITED STATES IS CERTAINLY FOCUSING ON DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD. WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD GET CREDIT FOR THIS, BECAUSE IN CONTRAST TO THE SOVIETS WE ARE ACTING CONSTRUCTIVELY.

8. SECRETARY VRHOVEC AGREED "IN ESSENCE". YUGOSLAVIA HAS ALWAYS BELIEVED STRONGLY THAT ANY COUNTRY HAS THE RIGHT TO CALL FOR OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE IN A STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION, BUT THE GOY IS EXTREMELY CONCERNED WHENEVER IT APPEARS THAT OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE IS BEING "TRANSFORMED INTO A PERMANENT BLOC PRESENCE." YUGOSLAVIA HAS MUCH SUPPORT WITHIN THE NAM FOR THIS POSITION", VRHOVEC SAID. "WE BELIEVE THE MAJORITY OF NAM STATES HOPE THAT THE CUBANS WILL GO HOME, BUT THEIR POSITION IS MADE VERY DIFFICULT INDEED WHEN WE SEE FRENCH AND BELGIAN SOLDIERS -- WHITE SOLDIERS - FIGHTING IN CONFIDENTIAL

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SHABA." "WE KNOW THAT THE EXPORT OF REVOLUTION IS AS DANGEROUS AS THE EXPORT OF IMPERIALISM", VRHOVEC ADDED WRYLY. "YOU OF COURSE KNOW THERE HAVE BEEN OCCASIONS WHEN SOME HAVE WISHED TO EXPORT BOTH REVOLUTION AND IMPERIALISM TO US."

9. VRHOVEC ARGUED THAT U.S. ATTEMPTS TO ISOLATE CUBA HAVE DRIVEN CUBA INTO MOSCOW'S ARMS. VRHOVEC RECALLED HIS OWN EXPERIENCES IN CUBA BOTH BEFORE THE REVOLUTION AND SINCE. HE IS CONVINCED THERE ARE OPPOSING TENDENCIES WITHIN THE CUBAN PARTY. THERE ARE HARDLINERS, HE OBSERVED, WHO ARE NOW IN CONTROL IN CUBA AND WHO TAKE "UNBELIEVABLY PRIMITIVE" PRO-SOVIET POSITIONS IN THE NAM. BUT THERE ARE OTHERS -- AND VRHOVEC INCLUDED CASTRO IN THE GROUP -- WHO TAKE MORE REASONABLE AND REALISTIC POSITIONS IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS THAN CUBA DOES IN PUBLIC. IT IS UNFORTUNATELY THE FIRST GROUP -- THE "PRIMITIVES" -- WHO ARE SPEAKING FOR CUBA WITHIN THE NAM, VRHOVEC BELIEVES.

10. AMB YOUNG REPLIED THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS MADE AN EARNEST EFFORT TO NORMALIZE OUR RELATIONS WITH HAVANA. THERE IS MUCH CRITICISM OF THE ADMINISTRATION FOR THIS POLICY FROM WITHIN THE UNITED STATES, AMB YOUNG OBSERVED, AND IT BECOMES VERY DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE TO MOVE AHEAD WHEN THE CUBANS ACT SO AGGRESSIVELY IN AFRICA. HOWEVER, AMB YOUNG SAID, HE BELIEVES THE CUBAN ROLE IN AFRICA WILL NOT ALWAYS BE SO TROUBLESOME. FOR EXAMPLE, THERE ARE NOW INDICATIONS THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA SINCERELY WISHES TO AVOID ANOTHER INCIDENT IN SHABA. HE IS PERSONALLY CONVINCED THAT THE EAST GERMANS MORE THAN THE CUBANS WERE BEHIND THE LAST KATANGAN INSURGENT INCURSION INTO CUBA. THERE IS HOPE WE CAN INFLUENCE CUBA ALONG MORE MODERATE LINES, AMB YOUNG THOUGHT.

11. SPEAKING PRIVATELY TO AMB EAGLEBURGER DURING DINNER THAT SAME EVENING, SECRETARY VRHOVEC STATED EXPLICITLY THAT HE

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BELIEVES THAT CUBA IS ACTING FOR THE SOVIET UNION WITHIN THE NAM. FURTHERMORE, WHILE UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES YUGOSLAVIA WOULD OPPOSE THE "CUBAN CHALLENGE" IN THE NAM, IN THEIR VIEW THE SITUATION IS ALL THE MORE SERIOUS BECAUSE THE NEXT NAM SUMMIT WILL BE HELD IN HAVANA, AND CUBA WILL THUS INEVITABLY HOLD A KEY POSITION IN MANAGING PREPARATIONS FOR THAT MEETING AND AS "TITULAR HEAD" OF THE MOVEMENT AND THEREAFTER. VRHOVEC STRESSED THAT IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT FOR THE UNITED STATES TO REALIZE THAT AS THE BELGRADE MEETING OPENS, PUBLIC CONFRONTATION WITH THE CUBANS WOULD MAKE IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR THE YUGOSLAVS TO CARRY OUT THEIR STRATEGY OF CONTAINMENT OF CUBA AT THE BELGRADE MEETING. VRHOVEC EARNESTLY HOPED THE U.S. WIL, IN PARTICULAR, AVOID SEEMING TO INTERVENE IN THE NAM, EITHER DIRECTLY OR BY PROXY. "LEAVE CUBA TO US, AND STAY AWAY FROM THE SUBJECT", HE SAID. VRHOVEC ADDED THAT IF THERE IS AN ATTEMPT TO EXPEL THE CUBANS FROM THE NAM AT BELGRADE, YUGOSLAVIA WILL FIND IT NECESSARY TO JOIN IN CUBA'S DEFENSE, EVEN TO LEAD THAT DEFENSE. YUGOSLAVIA WOULD DO THIS BECAUSE IT IS CONVINCED THAT CUBA WOULD REPRESENT A MUCH GREATER THREAT TO STABILITY IN THE THIRD WORLD OUTSIDE THE NAM THAN INSIDE IT, AND BECAUSE ONCE THERE IS AN EXPULSION--ANY EXPULSION-- "IT WILL MEAN THE END OF THE NAM".

12. ALSO DURING DINNER, AMB YOUNG RAISED THE PUERTO RICAN ISSUE WITH VRHOVEC. BECAUSE WE ARE CONVINCED THE YUGOSLAVS ARE WELL AWARE OF US VIEWS ON THE VARIOUS OTHER SUBJECTS LISTED PARA TWO, REF A, AND IN LIGHT OF THE EXTREMELY FRANK AND CANDID MANNER IN WHICH THE CONVERSATIONS WITH VRHOVEC UNFOLDED, WE DID NOT CHOOSE TO REVIEW OUR POSITIONS (ALREADY WELL KNOWN TO THE GOY) ON THOSE TOPICS. WE WILL DO SO DURING THE COURSE OF THE WEEK HOWEVER.
EAGLEBURGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: NONALIGNED NATIONS MEETINGS, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 18 jul 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978BELGRA05276
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780295-0010
Format: TEL
From: BELGRADE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780750/aaaabpqo.tel
Line Count: 262
Litigation Code IDs:
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Litigation History:
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Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 STATE 179595, 78 STATE 178240
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1979680
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: YUGOSLAV FOREIGN SECRETARY VRHOVEC'S VIEWS ON NAM AND CUBAN ROLE
TAGS: PORG, PFOR, YO
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/c8e6f071-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014